

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
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FM AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1985

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER/ECJ4/7

DIA WASH DC

SECDEF WASH DC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUBUMBASHI 055

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MOPS, CG, AO

SUBJECT: GOZ RESPONSE TO THE INVASION OF SHABA AND LOCAL

REACTION: THE FIRST TWO WEEKS

1. SUMMARY. GOZ RESPONDED TO INVASION OF SHABA THROUGH MILITARY COUNTERATTACK IN INVADDED REGIONS AND CIVILIAN EXHORTATIONS IN THE REST OF SHABA. MILITARY ACTIVITIES DURING THE SECOND WEEK OF THE INVASION CENTERED ON RECAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF KASAJI, BUT WERE HAMPERED BY WEAK LEADERSHIP AND CONTINUING LOGISTICAL AND MORALE PROBLEMS. CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP UNDER VP ENGULU AND REGIONAL COMMISSIONER ASSUMANI ATTEMPTED TO EXERCISE SOME CONTROL OVER  
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POSSIBLE MILITARY EXCESSES AND TO WHIP UP ENTHUSIASM FOR WAR EFFORT AMONG POPULATION WHICH IN EYES OF LEADERSHIP IS DANGEROUSLY SYMPATHETIC TO INVADERS. POPULAR RESPONSE TO GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES HAS BEEN LARGELY NEGATIVE BECAUSE OF BASIC SYMPATHIES OF THE PEOPLE, INCREASING HARASSMENT BY MILITARY, AND INDIFFERENCE TO POLITICAL EXHORTATIONS. SOME POLITICAL EXPRESSION IS SURFACING FOR FIRST TIME IN RECENT YEARS, BUT EXPECTED TO DEVELOP SLOWLY

UNLESS EVENTS ELSEWHERE IN ZAIRE PROCEED ALONG SIMILAR LINES BECAUSE OF FEAR OF POSSIBLE REPRESSION IF SHABANS BECOME TOO VOCAL AND GOZ SUCCESSFULLY REPELS INVADERS.

2. CONTROL OF GOZ ACTIVITIES IN WESTERN SHABA CLEARLY SHIFTED IN TWO WEEKS FOLLOWING INVASION FROM REGIONAL AUTHORITIES TO SPECIAL APPOINTEES FROM KINSHASA. EIGHTH MILITARY REGION HEADQUARTERS IN LUBUMBASHI UNDER GENERAL ZONGIA COMPLETELY BYPASSED BY ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMAND HEADQUARTERS IN KOLWEZI UNDER DIRECTION KINSHASA OFFICERS USING NEWLY ARRIVED TROOPS FROM OTHER AREAS. GENERAL ZONGIA LEFT WITH RESPONSIBILITY ONLY FOR DEFENSE OF LUBUMBASHI AND OTHER NON-CONTESTED AREAS, USING LARGELY LOCAL TROOPS WHICH WERE CONSIDERED OF QUESTIONABLE LOYALTY TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. REGIONAL COMMISSIONER ASSUMANI FINDS HIMSELF WORKING CLOSELY WITH VICE PRESIDENT ENGULU WHO SEEMS TO HAVE INSTALLED HIMSELF IN SHABA FOR DURATION OF EFFORT.

3. REPORTS FROM THE BATTLEFRONT REMAIN SKETCHY, ALTHOUGH THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE OF EFFECTIVE GOZ ACTIVITY. AFTER INVADERS SEIZED TOWNS OF KAPANGA, SANDOA, DILOLO, KISENGE, AND KASAJI DURING FIRST WEEK, BATTLEFRONT STABILIZED DURING SECOND WEEK. ALTHOUGH AIR ATTACKS ON DILOLO AND KISENGE ANNOUNCED, MOST OF GOZ EFFORT DIRECTED TOWARD RECAPTURE OF KASAJI WHICH PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED DURING KOLWEZI VISIT ON MARCH 19, BUT WHICH TO BEST OF CONSULATE'S KNOWLEDGE HAD NOT YET BEEN REENTERED FIVE DAYS LATER. TRAINS FERRYING TROOPS TO BATTLE AREAS HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATED IN AREA BETWEEN MUTSHATSHA AND KASAJI DURING ENTIRE WEEK. FURTHER INDICATION THAT BATTLE ACTIVITIES NOT GOING WELL AS DECISION TO EVACUATE SOME CIVILIANS FROM MUTSHATSHA SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 21. CONFIDENTIAL

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EVACUATION WAS POSTPONED AT REQUEST OF REGIONAL COMMISSIONER. WHEN TRAIN FINALLY DID LEAVE ON MARCH 22, MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN KOLWEZI DIRECTED ITS RETURN TO MUTSHATSHA AFTER IT HAD NEARLY REACHED ITS DESTINATION. HOSPITALS IN KOLWEZI REPORTED FULL OF FAZ WOUNDED. MANY WOUNDED GOZ SOLDIERS AT MUTSHATSHA AWAITING TREATMENT OR EVACUATION. AT SAME TIME NO REPORTS TO DATE OF CAPTURE OF INVADING SOLDIERS OR WEAPONS.

4. WHILE GOZ BLAMES INVADERS' GUERRILLA-STYLE ACTIVITIES FOR CASUALTIES, AN EQUALLY IMPORTANT EXPLANATION WOULD SEEM FAZ INTERNAL PROBLEMS. SENIOR OFFICERS SEEM TO AVOID PRESENCE AT FRONT, PREFERRING IMPORTANT DECISION-MAKING AT KOLWEZI. FAZ OFFICERS AT KOLWEZI, FOR EXAMPLE, ASKED MISSIONARY PILOT TO DO RECONNAISSANCE AT FRONT, BUT DECLINED TO PARTICIPATE IN EXERCISE THEMSELVES. TROOPS ARE POORLY PAID, UNDERFED, AND WITHOUT GOOD LEADERSHIP ON FRONT LINES. IF WOUNDED, THEIR CHANCES OF EVACUATION ARE NOT ALWAYS GOOD DUE TO DIFFICULT TRANSPORTATION SITUATION. DESERTIONS ENROUTE TO FRONT REMAIN UNDERSTANDABLY HIGH, LEAVING FRONT LINE UNITS AT LESS THAN FULL STRENGTH. IN OTHER PARTS OF

SHABA, SOLDIERS AT ROAD BARRICADES AND IN VILLAGES ARE REPORTEDLY DEMANDING HIGHER SUMS OF MONEY THAN NORMAL; AND IN SOME CASES TAKING ALL MONEY THE TRAVELER IS CARRYING. MANY REPORTS PERSIST OF LOOTING ENTIRE STOCK OF STORES IN BATTLE AREAS.

5. CIVILIAN OFFICIALS, PARTICULARLY VICE PRESIDENT ENGULU AND REGIONAL COMMISSIONER ASSUMANI HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MODERATE EXCESSES OF MILITARY. BIGGEST SOURCE OF CONTENTION ARE ROAD BLOCKADES WHICH CIVILIANS CLAIM TO BE UNNECESSARY HARASSMENT BUT WHICH MILITARY CLAIM TO BE ESSENTIAL TO PREVENT MOVEMENT OF INFILTRATORS. GENERAL ZONGIA HAS PRIVATELY EXPRESSED TO CONSULATE OFFICERS HIS RESENTMENT AGAINST ASSUMANI FOR HIS OPPOSITION TO BARRICADES. NO SIGNS HAVE DEVELOPED THAT MILITARY AND CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE SOUGHT COOPERATION IN RESPECTIVE UNDERTAKINGS. RATHER EACH SEEMS TO AVOID ALL BUT REQUIRED CONTACT WHILE POSTURING AT THE OTHER FROM A DISTANCE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUBUMBASHI 055

6. ALTHOUGH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS SEEM ALARMED AT PROSPECT OF FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES, CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE

TAKEN MOST ACTION TO COUNTER PERCEIVED THREAT. CIVILIAN OFFICIALS HAVE MOUNTED CAMPAIGN OF NEAR DAILY SPEECHES AND MEETINGS TO WARN POPULACE OF NECESSITY FOR VIGILANCE TO PRESENT SUBVERSION. ON MARCH 10, REGIONAL COMMISSIONER ASSUMANI WARNED MEETING OF LEADING ZAIRIAN BUSINESSMEN OF PRESENCE ANGOLAN SPIES IN LUBUMBASHI. ON MARCH 13 HE MADE CHILLING SPEECH IN KOLWEZI CRITICIZING "MENTALITY OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF POPULATION" AND DENOUNCING THOSE WHO HAVE BETRAYED MILITARY SECRETS TO THEIR TRIBAL BROTHERS IN ANGOLA. IN MARCH 14 SPEECH ASSUMANI ADMITTED TO ASSEMBLED MPR CADRES THERE WERE THOSE IN HIS AUDIENCE WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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INVADERS. ON MARCH 18 SPEECH TO UNION LEADERS, ASSISTANT REGIONAL COMMISSIONER ALEMO CALLED ON CITIZENS TO DENOUNCE SUSPECTED TRAITORS TO "SPECIAL SERVICES" (READ CND), AND MADE SIMILAR POINTS IN SPEECH TO GECAMINES ZAIRIAN CADRES LATER SAME DAY. AT JMPR-SPONSORED MEETING OF ALL ZAIRIAN SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, ADMINISTRATORS, AND TEACHERS MARCH 17, JMPR REGIONAL DIRECTOR CALLED ON SCHOOL PERSONNEL TO EXERCISE SURVEILLANCE OVER FELLOW WORKERS AND STUDENTS, TO DENOUNCE TRAITORS, DEFEATISTS, ENEMY SYMPATHIZERS, AND THOSE WHO LISTEN TO FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS. HE DEMANDED DAILY REPORTS FROM SUPERINTENDENTS ON SUSPECTS, AND WARNED THAT CONSISTENT REPORTS OF "NO SUSPECTS" WOULD BE GROUNDS FOR SUSPICION AGAINST THE REPORTER. AT MOBUTU SUPPORT RALLY IN CENTER OF LUBUMBASHI ON MARCH 22 AND MEETING WITH UNAZA STUDENTS ON MARCH 23, ASSUMANI VOICED AGAIN NEED FOR UNITY AND SUPPORT IN STRUGGLE AGAINST INVADERS.

7. CAMPAIGN TO REPRESS DISSENT HAS GONE BEYOND MORAL SUASION. CND HAS MADE NUMEROUS ARRESTS IN LAST FEW DAYS, ESTIMATED BY ONE WELL-INFORMED LOCAL OBSERVER AT ABOUT 50. MAIN TARGETS HAVE BEEN PEOPLE FORMERLY ACTIVE IN KATANGA SECESSIONIST GOVERNMENT OF EARLY 1960'S. FORMER MAYOR OF ELIZABETHVILLE, MWEPO, A HARMLESS OLD MAN, WAS ARRESTED LAST WEEK. FORMER PRESIDENT OF KATANGA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, WAS JUST TRANSFERED TO CND PRISON IN KINSHASA. THERE ARE MANY REPORTS OF CND HARASSMENT AND ARREST OF LUNDAS IN KOLWEZI AND LUBUMBASHI. THE MWANT YAV, GRAND CHIEF OF THE LUNDA AND MOISE TSHOMBE'S BROTHER, HAS BEEN UNDER SUSPICION BY AUTHORITIES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE INVASION. SINCE HE WAS NOT AT HOME AT KAPANGA BUT IN KOLWEZI AT THE TIME, HE IS SUSPECTED BY AUTHORITIES OF COLLABORATING WITH INVADERS. HE AND 12 LUNDA CHIEFS WERE COMPELLED TO SIGN DECLARATION OF LOYALTY TO MOBUTU CONDEMNING INVADERS, WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLICIZED ON VOICE OF ZAIRE. REGARDING ARRESTS BY CND, MWANT YAV SAID THAT MONEY CONTINUES TO SECURE PROMPT RELEASE. HE SPOKE OF RELATIVE CURRENTLY UNDER DETENTION WHO IS EXPECTED TO REMAIN IN PRISON BECAUSE HE HAS DECLINED TO PAY BRIBE.

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8. REACTION OF SHABAN POPULATION TO GOVERNMENT MOVES GENERALLY NEGATIVE, BUT NOT AS STRONGLY SO AS COULD BE EXPECTED GIVEN BASIC PREDISPOSITION OF SHABAN RESIDENTS FAVORING INVADERS. THE TENSION LEVEL IN THE COPPERBELT TOWNS HAS DECREASED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING PAST WEEK, THANKS LARGELY TO ELIMINATION OF CURFEW AND MANY BARRICADES WITHIN TOWNS. RUMORS HAVE ALSO DECREASED AS SITUATION HAS STABILIZED. MOST PEOPLE ACCEPTED AT LEAST FOR FIRST FEW DAYS GOVERNMENT STATEMENT THAT KASAJI RETAKEN AND SAW THIS AS INITIAL STEP TOWARD DEFEAT OF INVADERS. AT SAME TIME, POPULARITY OF GOVERNMENT HAS NOT INCREASED AS A RESULT OF ITS RESPONSE TO INVASION. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO NEGATIVE REACTION INCLUDE HARASSMENT OF CIVILIAN POPULATION BY MILITARY, RUMORS OF QUESTIONABLE MILITARY PERFORMANCE ON THE FRONT, FEAR OF CND ARRESTS, AND CONTINUOUS EXHORTATIONS ABOUT LOYALTY TO MOBUTU AND ELIMINATING SUBVERSIVES AMONG POPULATION. MILITARY ARE ESPECIALLY UNPOPULAR IN SHABA. IN ADDITION TO RECALLING PAST REPRESSION, RECENT MILITARY EFFORTS IN POPULAR MIND DEVOTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT. GENERAL BUMBA, IN PARTICULAR, WHO IS A FREQUENT VISITOR TO SHABA, HAS BEEN WIDELY KNOWN TO PREFER MILITARY INSPECTIONS IN AREAS WHERE HIS ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE STRONGEST.

9. BEFORE INVASION SHABANS FOCUSED INTEREST ON THEIR ECONOMIC RATHER THAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS BECAUSE OF UNLIKELIHOOD OF CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT AND LONG-TIME PARANOIA THAT GOZ SHOWED TOWARD POLITICAL EXPRESSION FROM SHABANS. INVASION HAS BROUGHT FORTH FIRST RECENT POLITICAL THOUGHTS, THOUGH STILL VERY GUARDED AND WITHOUT SIGNS TO DATE OF CREATION OF POLITICAL GROUPINGS. PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS THUS FAR SEEMS TO BE ON REPLACEMENT OF MOBUTU RATHER THAN REESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT KATANGAN STATE. MOST COMMONLY HEARD LOCAL FEELING IS REGRET THAT INVADERS MAY BE REPELLED BEFORE THEIR ACTIONS PERCIPITATE ANY CHANGES IN KINSHASA GOVERNMENT. PRESSED FURTHER, MOST SPECIFY THAT THEY MEAN THE REPLACEMENT OF MOBUTU.

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10. RAPID DEFEAT OF INVADERS BY GOZ COULD PROBABLY QUELL NEWLY BORN POLITICAL INTERESTS. GOVERNMENT DEFEATS AND DELAYS, HOWEVER, WILL STIMULATE FURTHER POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BUT TOTAL LEVEL NOT EXPECTED TO ACCELERATE RAPIDLY UNLESS SIMILAR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS TAKE LEAD IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. SHABANS CONTINUE TO FEAR REPRESSION THAT IS LIKELY TO BEFALL AREA IF SYMPATHIES TOO OVERT. EXHORTATIONS AND CND ARRESTS HAVE ALREADY SINGALED WHAT COULD BE AHEAD IF LOCAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY

DEVELOPS AND IF GOZ SUCCESSFULLY COUNTERS INVADERS.  
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